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Organisation and Discipline
and their Application
to Zionism.

A Paper prepared by Mr. Percy P. Baker, Hon.
Secretary, of the English Zionist Federation,
London, and read before a meeting of the
Literary Circle of the Shanghai Zion-
ist Association, on Wednesday 10th
April, 1907, by Mr. S. MOOSA.

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ORGANISATION AND DISCIPLINE AND THEIR APPLICATION TO ZIONISM.

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I am going to tax your patience, with a subject as old as the hills and as dry as dust.

Organisation is not a subject that one can tickle your fancy with, nor can rouse you into enthusiasm, it is mere plain matter of fact, and that, excepting to the student of sequence, is anything but interesting. It is a subject that has received least attention at our hands, and yet is *the* subject transcending all others in importance. It is the irony of our fate that people speak of the cohesiveness of Jews while in reality we are incapable of gathering ourselves together, even into any single idea. That is the tragedy of the Jewish people, Jewish thought and of Jewish life. We all revel in Theoretics, every Jew believes himself capable of creating a new and individual trend of thought, which alone is going to be the all and only salvation bringing idea to mankind. Just the same as every Jewish mother, with pardonable pride conceives the idea, that her baby boy is destined to be the Messiah. In reality the only cohesive bond among us, is the Golith we experience as an aggregate.

We suffer not so much as individuals but as an aggregate; if a single Jew in Galicia happens to commit a crime, all Jews are stamped as criminals. If a Jew in the East End of London happens to work twelve hours instead of ten, all Jews are put down as sweaters. If a Jew happens to be a money-lender all Jews are classed as dirty Jews.

No one says it is a credit to us, or that the Jews are a brave people, because ten per cent of the Jewish population served the colours during the Boer War, or that all Jews are honorable because Lord Rothschild is an honourable man. We suffer as an aggregate, but we try to save ourselves, we try to progress as individuals. We lack that

tendency, by which particles of homogeneous bodies unite together, we lack that cohesion of ideas, we lack that spirit which is the principle of happiness in life, namely striving for conjoint interests, we lack the "spirit of one for all, and all for one."

This lack of cohesion and of discipline is characteristic of the Jewish people. Let me explain. The leading into a thousand and one different channels of the real and imaginary views and ideas of our people, which if combined and united would have presented an unconquerable front to all outside foes, has to a certain extent created a sort of civil war, and consequently made our people an easy prey to anyone who felt inclined to give vent to the brutal qualities of mankind. This condition of so-called civil war may be attributed to the actual force of mind in the general character of the Jew, but primarily I attribute it to the conditions under which our people have been compelled to live during our long Goluth period. I may presume that you are more or less acquainted with the history of our people, particularly of the time since the destruction of Jerusalem, so that you will be better able to follow the gist of my argument.

Living under special laws, excluded from the common laws of his surrounding neighbors, debarred from participating in the numerous grades of State or Social institutions, always being dependent upon his own individual resources and compelled to act upon the spur of the moment, the necessity of discipline has naturally been lost to the idea of our people, and has made us a nation of commanders with nobody to listen to our commands, and far less to follow them.

As the poet Southey said :—

And Sovereign Law ; that state's collected will,
O'er Thrones and Globes elate,

Sits Empress ; crowning good, repressing ill,
never applied to the Jew ; for in the magisterial authority, or in the ruling power of the time, the Jew never found a superior to his moral or mental existence, he never found a true and impartial exponent of law and justice, but always an opponent to his material and physical welfare, truth and justice were not dealt out to the Jew, with the result, and quite naturally too, that he would experience excessive repugnance in being subject to a ferocious and cowardly enemy.

Under such a state of conditions there could be no question of discipline, and consequently the principle of united thoughts, ideas and actions could find no soil for development.

With the Jews among the Aryans, it was always a question of brutal oppressive force against the Jew, it was a game of pitch-toss which ever way the Jew turned, it was "Heads the Jew lost, tails the Aryan won", so that it really was a policy of "sauve qui peut" and the devil take the hindmost. And yet to all intents and purposes the Jew in spite of serfdom and lowliness, was an independent being, who somehow or another managed to exist through life, impressed with the one idea, to belong to the divine spirit of Jewry. Amongst his own people, everyone was a member of the independent republic of the Jewish spirit, and vied with one another in the sharpness of their minds. That one evening in the year when he sits on his throne of pillows, looking back on the past, and in a loud voice relates how he was slaved in bondage to Pharoah in Mizraim, and for the nonce verily believing himself to be a king in the very sense of the word is and has been to him the inexhaustible fountain of consolation and hope from which he drew the stamina of independent life.

That the continual state of being hunted about from place to place for hundreds of years, beholding in everyone outside his own home, an actual enemy, whom, for his own personal safety he must try to conquer, would naturally influence the character of a people, will I am sure be easily understood and it is a matter of course that in the course of time every individual Jew would acquire the instinct of despotism against ideas which are not absolutely his own. The instinct of personal security takes prominence in one's mind, the Jew could not use physical force, his only power lay in an endeavor to possess a sharpened brain and for the sake of self-preservation he was forced to compel others to accept his views, or he was the one to succumb.

The Jew was so permanently harrassed, that he had neither opportunity nor time to consider matters of general interest, it was a continual struggle for life, not merely a struggle for existence, but he was in continual fear of his life. Add to this the fact that every Jew is ambitious, and you will understand the prevalence and the anarchy which

exists in every phase of Jewish life. This power which he was compelled to employ in former days against his arch-enemies has to an extent gone over into his flesh and blood, which he tries to use at every opportunity, with the difference, that he employs it in his own community, and against his own interests. Outside his own people the Jew is practically a coward, as far as his own community's interests are concerned, which is a characteristic of every despot.

It has taken the Aryan, who contrary to the Jew, has been living in peace and prosperity, as far as this has been possible, hundreds of peaceful years, to comprehend the full value of discipline and of combined ideas and action. Are we to blame the Jew, who constantly surrounded by danger, compelled to see an enemy in his Aryan neighbour always ready to do him an injury, the Jew who never possessed the majority, never had the opportunity of participating in social or state questions, always looked upon as an inferior being and an interloper, are we to *blame* the Jew for not grasping the true value of conjoint thoughts, ideas and actions? Some may, and with a certain amount of justification too, say; because of the continual antagonism, and the exceptional conditions the Jews were subject to, the value of discipline and combined action ought to have been discovered long ago by the Jews. Apart from being here before one of those incomprehensible things which we are unable to explain i.e., that very often we look for things which lie before our eyes, yet we are so blind that we cannot see them.

We may well ask is it in the nature of humanity to be subordinate to any individual or party which is constantly persecuting us? Discipline can only be engendered if law and justice is equally meted out to one and all within the family party or state. Unity of thought and ideas alone cause unity of action. With the destruction of Jerusalem, and the loss of our country, we lost the Jewish centre of gravity, and the principle which underlay Jewish Unity of thoughts, ideas and actions. Until this centre of gravity is rediscovered, this ideal which could attract all classes of the Jewish people, no unity of action amongst Jews could take place. One common aim based upon that spark of idealism which is existent in every human heart, in some more, in some less, but it is there and will cause our subordination to which we gladly submit.

Until lately no single Jew had based his deeds for Jewry upon that principle and consequently no one was looked upon as an actual leader of the Jewry, or possessed of full confidence and who could subjugate anyone to his command. No Jew had done so great a deed that Jewry could declare "We herewith appoint you our recognised leader to whom we are prepared to be subordinate". The great principle of Jewish Idealism had been overlooked by all Jewish workers, hence this lack of conjoint thought, ideas and actions. It was in 1897 "a change came over the spirit of the Jewish dream," the Jewish flag was unfurled, and they that hoisted the flag cried out, "Jews rally round the standard of Zion, sink all differences of opinion, unite all efforts into one channel, create your acknowledged leader and subject yourselves to his law, give him the power to stand forth and proclaim to the world at large that the Jewish people *demand* to be acknowledged as a people possessing equal rights with all human beings, that the Jewish people demand justice, in short, that the Jewish people demand a "fair field and no favour". Give your leaders the power to demand in your name the creation of a publicly recognised legally safeguarded home in Palestine for the Jewish people, combine your efforts in this direction, which constitutes the keystone of Jewish life, give up striving, everyone in his own way, and running counter to each other.

United let us stand in our demands for liberty, equality and fraternity and the world cannot help but accede to our just demands. That was the cry which went forth from Basle at the first Zionist Congress in 1897.—No one until the arrival of Dr. Herzl, recognised that the Magnet which was to attract all Jews to discipline and unity was to be found in the idea of a Jewish State. That has been the greatest discovery made by any Jew, since the dispersion, and the general voice of the people proclaimed Dr. Herzl as the acknowledged leader of the Jewish people. No one can truthfully say that the large number of Zionist's were not subordinate to Herzl, this subordination was not to Herzl the man, but to the idea which he personified. And Herzl himself was a subordinate to the idea, in which you find embedded that true principle of the Jewish democracy.

I have partly shown you the disintegrated state of the Jewish people and the chaos of negative ideas that existed

together with the amount of centrifugal force that was expended in side issues thereby hastening the decomposition of the body, which if properly concentrated and spent in an organised method could be utilized to the positive advantage of the world in general.—In the idea of possessing a National standing, we have already begun to understand the value of sinking our personal views and opinions in favour of the majority. We are beginning to recognise that the single individual with his solitary voice, is like a single drop of water poured upon the desert. It deprives its family of strength and is absolutely valueless for anything else. Even the struggle for existence, which we are inclined to believe is carried on by the single individual, will by careful study, be found not to be what it seems but is in reality carried on by coalition, absolute individual independency is non-existent, especially in higher developed animal species including man, natural organisation is a family and a people.

Consequently to anything that we do, we must ask ourselves are we expressing the desires of the people, of the majority, are we not merely unfolding our own individual views, and endeavouring to impress individualities upon others without caring whether that which benefits us will or can benefit the majority. Are we not introducing a question affecting only a few people, while the majority is left unaffected.

This is the danger. As Hebert Spencer says; "We are none of us content with quietly unfolding our own individualities to the full in all directions, but have a restless craving to impress our individualities upon others, and in some way subordinate them." Not what is of more worth is our consideration but what will bring the individual most applause, honour, respect what will be most conducive to social position and influence, what will be most imposing."

Unfortunately the question uppermost in the individual mind is not what we shall be thought.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we must struggle against all those who intentionally or unintentionally desire to introduce questions affecting only a part of our entity.

We must unitedly struggle against those who owing to their exceptional position are apt to deny the necessity of altering the existing state of chaos.

The individual who for the sake of ulterior motives, would allow the interests of the people to suffer, violates his allegiance and commits a betrayal of trust.

Do not misunderstand me, by no means am I opposed to individualism, but Zionism wishes not only shall the individual alone become powerful, but the individual is to become powerful *through* and with his own people. The power can only be achieved in one way, and by one method, which up to now, I may say has practically been alien to our people, and that is the principle of organisation.

I do not believe I am entering into any high philosophical thesis, if I raise the question "What is Organisation?" Coleridge says: "Organisation is but the connection of parts in and for a whole, so that each part is at once, end and means." Practically speaking, organisation means, the peculiar creation of a body, which by virtue of the combined natural action of different organs, maintains and developes life.

The greatest peculiarity about organisation is, that the individual organ does not possess the principle of its existence in itself, but obtains it from the entire body to which it belongs, consequently it can only possess life, as long as it is in combination with that body. Separated from the general body, it is absolutely dead. This body proper, consists of numerous organs, which again exist by virtue of being united, the one supporting the other, thus creating the whole.

Each organ works for itself in order to create nourishment for the body proper, which again feeds the organ; if the individual organ does not perform its duty, it weakens the body proper, and consequently cannot obtain nourishment for itself, with the result that first the organ, and then the body dies, for lack of nourishment.

Organisation may be best compared to the human body, which is composed of numerous little cells and arteries, one relying on and leading into the other, until they reach the heart, which again distributes the blood, representing the nourishment to each individual cell and artery. If we will say one organ goes on strike, and does not perform its duty it may be a very minor duty, yet what is the result? The body gets out of order, you begin to feel out of sorts, you get weak and ultimately die. If

however, we can manage to get that respective organ to perform its duty, the body recovers, the organ recovers, you feel well and are again ready to take up the struggle for existence.

To all intents and purposes, Organisation is synonymous with life. If organisation is perfect, you may almost say we can create life even in inanimate bodies. Take for instance, a watch, the machinery of a factory, the electric tram-cars etc. You have the little wheels all performing their duties which keep the entire work alive, and if one little wheel happens to get up of order everything may go to rack and ruin. Now what hold good to a concrete body like the human frame, a watch or any other kind of works, also holds goods to any abstract to body the same extent, and the Zionist movement not excluded. Zionism is the body proper, we individual Zionists are the numerous organs, who, by our continual attendance to our duty, no matter what that duty is, whether it is the distribution of a leaflet or being received in audience by some political government, be it collecting for the National Fund, or selling a Shekel, it makes no difference, we are the little wheel upon whom depends the supply of vital power to the body proper.

The little duty we perform everyone in his or her sphere and according to his or her capability, is the nourishment which keeps the Zionist body alive, and which we actually receive back in return in an improved quality.

There is no greater danger to our Movement, than the Zionist soldier who neglects his duty, this negligence cannot be sufficiently condemned. In other armies the penalty for neglect of duty on the field of battle is death by shooting. I do not quite advocate this harsh measure, although we are in the midst of a great struggle, but I would advocate great care in the selection of workers, and if one has proved lacking in duty, he should be made to feel it, for we are not yet all quite deaf to the opinion of his associates and are still possessed of a certain amount of pride.

One other person I would warn you against, and that is the person who would say "such a duty is not in keeping with my dignity" The person who looks down upon any duty in the Zionist ranks, must be classed to those whose consideration is not the welfare of the movement

but what is likely to bring him most applause. This class of people are apt to spoil our reputation of sincerity. Our movement depends upon ourselves and how we attend to our duties. If you have certain qualities in you, you may be sure that in the course of time these will come to the front, and attention to your duties will not retard the process. Never forget that if you neglect your duty you prohibit the other from doing his duty and unknowingly withdraw and cripple the strength of the body and make it absolutely impossible for the body to give the returns you expect or demand anything. The Zionist Movement is the struggle for existence of the Jewish people as a separate entity among the nations, and cannot be carried on by a single individual.

It must be conducted in coalition, and naturally requires a high state of organisation. Discipline and subordination to the will of the majority, and to the Governments which we ourselves have appointed, is and must be the parole of every Zionist. Our opponents deny us the ability of organisation and discipline. True, we have not been organised, nor did we properly understand the true value and meaning of being subordinate to the general wish, but may there not be reason to make us understand *why* the failing of this quality?

Is it possible to expect and demand organisation, discipline and subordination from a heterogeneous mass of people oppressed and scattered all over the world, continually wandering about from place to place, without an ideal and without possessing a publicly declared leader to whom to be subordinate.

Were we to worship at the Shrine of the Golden Calf and subordinate ourselves to that? Was that to be our leader? That mistake has once been made by Jewry and haunts us to this day.—There have been people professing a desire to be leaders of the Jews but who made them such? In matters affecting the welfare of my people am I to accept as leaders men who do not uphold the principles of my people's integrity, merely because they desire the ambition to be styled the leader of the Jews? Am I to accept as a leader a man who is of opinion that his people know not what they want or one who denies that his people are not what they claim to be?

The Jewish people, who have always been the greatest idealists, could not become followers of people whose sole aims and objects in life were to obtain rank and position, no matter at what cost. What has been the result? Those individuals who are looked upon by our neighbors as our leaders. Are they such in reality? A leader must be strong and powerful he must possess the courage to stand up for the demands and rights of his people. Have we got such a one? We have so called Jewish leaders but have they ever stood up for the specific Jewish rights? A demand for Jewish Rights has never emanated from the so-called Jewish leaders. So-called Jewish leaders do not possess the courage to walk in front of their people. It is as untrue to say that Lord Rothschild is the acknowledged leader of the Jewish people, as it is a fallacy to believe that we Jews with our Bankers and our press are the rulers of Europe; and Mr. Cunninghame Graham falls into the same error.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham wrote sometime ago "that the Russian autocracy should be brought to its knees by the action of its ancient enemies and victims, the Jews refusing funds." "We have seen of late" says Mr. Graham, "so much misery brought upon the world by the combined action of Jewish and Christian financiers in Johannesburg that one would like to see the reproach taken away—from the Jews at any rate—by a great and generous deed." "Russia" he continues, "is almost on her knees. It wants but a refusal from the Chief Jewish financial houses to give more money to their principle murderers, and the Russian House of cards falls down into the sea of mud and blood that surges round it upon every side. One speech from a Sir Moses Montefiore, were he alive, would make it almost impossible for any European Jew to give or vote his money to the Russian murderers of Jews" Is no one left? Asks Mr. Graham, who says that if nothing is done, now it looks as if the rich Jewish houses cared nothing for the poor of their religion.

It is all false. The truth is that we are the poorest people on the face of the earth, not even possessing the wherewith to create a home of our own. Owing to our fearful poverty the existence of a few wealthy Jews appears so extravagantly glaring and this fact has cost

many a Jew his life. The irony of our fate could not be more drastically exemplified than by the reports which appeared a few weeks after the Kischineff massacres that the Jewish Bankers of Berlin, Paris and London had threatened the Russian Government to withdraw its credit if Jewish massacres did not cease

Fancy the poorest Proletariat threatening to withdraw Russian credit! Were it not so deadly earnest, one would have felt inclined to be rather amused at the idea. Admitting that there was any truth in the rumour, has any good result accrued from the threat? May we not assume that Gomel, Odessa, Siedlice and all the other massacres was the reply?

These supposed leaders not understanding their people, fully believe, that charity will help the Jews, and by virtue of their accumulated possessions they look upon themselves as the leaders of the Jewish people. But they are anything but that. It is not the voice of the people that has acknowledged them as such, nor vested in them the right of their representation. Leaders of a people must be impressed with the ideals of the people; this it is which leads. The existence of an ideal turns all differences into minor details, making them of little consequence. The ideal, which is the principle aim overcomes all difficulties, and no two opinions can exist. It is not men that lead, it is the ideal. But has there been an ideal in Jewry? You will say the mission of the Jewish people is an ideal which always has existed, and this ought to have been cause enough to organise us. How is it that it has failed? Certainly the mission of the Jewish people, the teaching of the unity of God, is a great ideal; but in spite of its apparent greatness there was something lacking to entirely complete it, for after 20 centuries of suffering for our ideal, we found its realization as far off as ever, in fact, if anything less effective.

Why? Because it was incomplete. There was a certain something wanted. For the Abstract we have to create a concrete. Both combined would bring about that which we have been so long striving for. Being always in the minority, it is quite natural that in the course of time, we are assimilated by the majority, while the want of a country of our own prevents us raising up successors who will continue the work where we have left off. For the Missionary ideal we have to create a domicile, a

centre from where the mission is to go forth. Even our Mission requires a home : and that has been pointed out to us in that book from which our missionary inspiration has been gained. The exact spot has been pointed out, not merely to be used in theory but in actual practice. ' For from Zion learning shall go forth, and the word of God from Jerusalem.'

Zionism besides having taught us to stand up manfully for our rights is slowly leading us to understand the true value of organisation and discipline, without which we can never hope to strengthen and unite the Jewish people.

In subjecting ourselves to our own appointed Government is where the true principles of democratic liberty comes in.

Considering the diversity of opinion existing amongst us Jews compared only to our scattered condition, it is remarkable that within the short period of the existence of Zionism, we have already discovered that the true principles of success lie solely and entirely in the fact of having the strength of a people confined in one hand, the hand of the people's self appointed Government. This does not by any means take away the individuality of any member of our party, for the sphere of the Zionist programme is so wide and varied that it supplies sufficient food for almost every single trend of thought and opportunity is offered to develop the same. On points of general principle however, every true Zionist is in duty bound to be subordinate to the will and voice of the people for that voice is our own,—the principle factors in the Zionist Movement are :—Congress, Actions Committee, Lands-Committee, District Committee, Society and Members. The Congress represents the Jewish Parliament, the Members having been elected by yourselves, fairly represent the current or party spirit which is prevalent amongst you. The members of Congress have your full power and your full confidence, they have been sent there for the purpose of making laws, to which you agreed to adhere, consequently you are in duty bound, until the next Congress to live and act accordingly to these laws. The Congress is, and must be, all powerful, its decision must be conclusive and only at the next Congress are we capable of altering or amending our constitution. Congress of course only occupies itself with

general principles, details are handed over by the Actions Committee. the acting Government after Congress, the so-called Cabinet, to the minor organisations, the Lands-Committee. As Congress we are the Jewish people in its entirety, after Congress we are party organisations working in the framed limits of the law. Our Movement is large and so scattered that the Congress has seen itself forced into creating the different Lands-Committee, who to an extent, are the Representatives of the Actions Committee, but principally the medium of communication between individual bodies and the Cabinet. In matter of detail the Federation have been granted autonomy, in so far as it affects the respective country of its abode. The member of any Federation are also elected by the people and consequently any laws for our guidance made by the Federation are more by ourselves; and we would be going against our own decisions if we refuse to abide by them. Federation means and is based on the identical lines and principles, as Congress, but of course on a more minor scale.

For whereas the Congress represents the Jewish people in its entirety, a Federation merely represents the Jewish people resident in one country. The principle and success of organisation lies in a proper concentration of forces and division and sub-division of labour. Our work is so immense that even the Lands-Committee find difficulty in coping with it fully, and District Committees ought to be formed on the same principle as the Congress, i.e. by the people's voices for the purpose of reducing the labours of the Lands-Committee, and as a medium of communication between bodies in one district and the Federation. It is the duty of the individual bodies in one district to attend to the laws affecting the Movement in that respective district.

A district contains so and so many towns with so and so many Societies. Though principally I do not object to several Societies in one town, provided each Society occupies itself with work not done by any other Society. I yet believe it is more in keeping with Zionist principles if only one institution exists in one town, which sub-dividing its labours properly would achieve better results and prevent a large waste of finances and energy which could be utilized to better advantage.

Unfortunately we are still suffering to a very large

degree from the Goluth effects, and parochial bickerings, are allowed to play too important a part in anything we undertake, what "Chain Janekl is Gabb lai ich spring misht kain Kodausch" thus says the "Greener," the half anglicised, will say. "If I don't get Maftir Jonah on Jon Kippur to Minchah," I shall start a new Synagogue, and the thorough anglicised Jew, the Anglo-Jewish poet, who of course soars very high he after saying, "which ever way the next Congress decided, the real traitor will be he, who does not loyally accept that decision and does not work heart and soul with the majority." He, says the majority does not accept my resolution, I am going to start a new Jewish National Movement. You see even the best of us have not entirely got rid of these remnants of our Ghetto-times in spite of a century of emancipation.

Gentlemen, we must exterminate these narrow minded remnants from olden times, which lead to the disintegration of ourselves and prevent our progress.

The majority must decide, and as Zangwill said: "What is necessary is that the minority should abide by the vote of the majority" and act up to its decisions. To oppose and then come and ask what have you done, is like writing your own certificate of failure, and holding it up for public inspection. You must give, if you wish to receive.

Zionism does not stand only for the home in Palestine we are striving for, but Zionism stands for the organisation of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, even before we obtain our home, the very idea of possessing a hearth and home helps us to sink a certain amount of our individualities and differences of opinion.

As has been declared over and over again, the solution of the Jewish question is not and cannot be solved by the chaotic activity of the individual few, may they be ever so active, but requires the organised personal activity of every adherent to our cause. By every one taking an active share in the work suitable to his ability, under proper organisation, we obtain that concentration of forces, which is such an important factor in every phase of life.

We must not stand still and with folded hands contentedly wait for what the other one is doing towards the realisation of our ideals, but we have personally to strive with all the power at our command, if we really wish to achieve our aims. Concentration of forces, and

sub-division of labour must be our motto. Organisation and Discipline is the parole submitted to us by Congress and that alone can and will lead to ultimate success.

All the questions which have occupied our minds during the past years, such as Culture, Young Zion's party, Misrachi, East Africa etc., are as nothing in comparison to the importance of Organisation, had we been properly organised, these questions might have been settled one way or the other with far less heartache and less waste of time, as it is, these matters have merely detracted us from the actual centre of gravity and have lead us into channels which we are still incapable of navigating. Organisation is not merely a means for the end, but it is "Selbst Zweck". In organisation and party discipline lies the only safety and future of our Movement, that movement which has infused new life into the decayed body of Jewry. Zionism means the national redemption of our people. It is the star of hope which inspires us with new vigour, it is the oasis in the desert containing the quenching waters of Jewish life.

As Mr. Zangwill said before he broke away, "Help us in a project which shines like a star over the welter of materialistic politics, help us to our national redemption, so that once again the Law shall go forth from Zion and the word of Righteousness and Justice from Jerusalem;" and our only chance of reaching our goal, lies in Organisation and Discipline.

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Shanghai Zionist Association.

Shanghai March 1907.

The subscription for membership has been fixed for one Mexican Dollar quarterly for each lady or gentleman. Those desirous to become members are kindly requested to sign the accompanying slip and return it to the undersigned.

N. E. B. EZRA,
Hon. Secretary.

.....

Shanghai, _____ 1907

Dear Sir,

I shall thank you to place my name on the list of members of your Association, from the current quarter.

Yours faithfully

N. E. B. EZRA, Esq.

*Hon. Secretary,
Shanghai Zionist Association.
16, The Bund.*

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